

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAIRO 08262 01 OF 02 191532Z

43

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 EUR-08 /032 W

----- 116896

R 191416Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5966

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 8262

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EG US IS

SUBJECT: CODEL SCOTT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT

1. SENATOR WILLIAM SCOTT, ACCOMPANIED BY SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER CONELLY AND MILITARY ESCORT COMMANDER THORPE MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT FOR ABOUT AN HOUR ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 17, AT RAS AL-HIKMA. AMBASSADOR WAS ALSO PRESENT. GROUP DROVE FROM CAIRO TO ALEXANDRIA AND FLEW ON EGYPTIAN AIR FORCE HELICOPTER FROM THERE TO RAS AL-HIKMA. SUMMARY OF CONVERSATION FOLLOWS:

2. AFTER THE PRESIDENT HAD WELCOMED THE GROUP THE SENATOR EXPLAINED HE WAS VISITING THE MIDDLE EAST AREA IN BEHALF OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE. CHAIRMAN STENNIS HAD ASKED HIM TO CONDUCT A FACT-FINDING VISIT TO ENABLE THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE TO UPDATE ITS INFORMATION. THIS WOULD ENABLE THE COMMITTEE TO REEVALUATE THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. THE SENATOR INVITED THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS.

3. SADAT FIRST EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT THE "PENTAGON", ACTING ON THE BASIS OF PREVIOUS US MIDDLE EAST POLICY, PERSISTS IN CONSIDERING EGYPT UNDER SOVIET INFLUENCE AND AS SOVIET PROTEGE. HE RECALLED THAT IN 1972 THERE WERE NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE US AND HE HAD ATTACKED FORMER SECRETARY ROGERS FOR "GOING BACK ON HIS WORD".

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 08262 01 OF 02 191532Z

NEVERTHELESS, ON JULY 8 OF THAT YEAR, HE HAD TAKEN

THE DECISION TO SEND ALL SOVIET EXPERTS OUT. EGYPT HAD FOUGHT FOR 23 YEARS SINCE THE REVOLUTION FOR ITS INDEPENDENCE AND WILL NOT SURRENDER IT TO ANYONE. SOME HAD SUGGESTED AT THAT TIME THAT IF HE HAD GONE TO THE US, HE COULD HAVE EXTRACTED A PRICE. BUT HE DID NOT LIKE THIS METHOD OF OPERATING. IN POLITICS AS IN LIFE ONE MUST HAVE MORALS. IT TOOK THE SOVIETS 8 MONTHS AFTER EXPULSION TO REALIZE THEY HAD NOT STABBED THEM IN THE BACK. HE HAD JUST GIVEN THEM AN "ELECTRIC SHOCK". EVEN AFTERWARDS, UNTIL SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT, EGYPT WAS CONSIDERED SOVIET PROTECTED. HE HAD ASKED SECRETARY KISSINGER WHAT HIS POSITION WAS IN GLOBAL US STRATEGY. THE SECRETARY HAD REPLIED, EGYPT WAS REGARDED AS BEING UNDER SOVIET INFLUENCE. HE HAD MUCH TO COMPLAIN ABOUT RE THE "PENTAGON". IN THE OCTOBER 1973 WAR THERE HAD BEEN NO SOVIET MILITARY FIGHTING WITH THE EGYPTIANS.

4. THE SENATOR OBSERVED THAT THE BULK OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO BE FRIENDS. THEY CONSIDER WE HAVE A RELATIONSHIP TODAY WITH THE ARABS WHICH CAN BE MUTUAL AND PERMANENT. HE HAD HAD A GOOD RECEPTION IN SAUDI ARAB.

5. FOR 27 YEARS, SADAT CONTINUED, THE ISRAELIS SAID THE ARABS WERE AGAINST PEACE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EVERY ARAB LEADER UNTIL HE TOOK OVER SAID WAR AND NO PEACE. IN FEBRUARY 1971 HE HAD TAKEN HIS FIRST INITIATIVE. SECRETARY ROGERS HAD COME OUT AND TOLD THE PRESIDENT NO MORE COULD BE ASKED OF HIM. THEREAFTER ROGERS "WENT BACK ON HIS WORD". SADAT RECALLED HE HAD DECLARED IN PARLIAMENT THAT HE WAS READY FOR PEACE IF THE ISRAELIS WITHDRAW FROM THE PASSES. THE ATMOSPHERE COULD THEN BE NORMALIZED. AT THAT TIME (1971) HE STILL HAD SOVIET PILOTS AND OFFICERS AT SAM III SITES. IN 1972, HE SENT 15,000 SOVIETS OUT. ISRAEL TRIES TO DISTORT THE PICTURE. IT SUFFERED A DEFEAT IN THE FIRST 4 DAYS OF THE OCTOBER WAR.

6. THE SENATOR NOTED THAT THE ISREALIS ALSO STATED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAIRO 08262 01 OF 02 191532Z

THEY WANT PEACE. SADAT OBSERVED THAT LAST MARCH HE HAD GONE BEYOND THE LIMITS. IN HIS VIEW, THE ISRAELIS FEAR PEACE. THEY WANT TO CONTINUE TO OBTAIN MONEY FROM THE US AND EUROPE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE PEACE PROCESS. THE SENATOR COMMENTED THAT ALL THE MIDDLE EAST LEADERS HE HAD MET SAID THIS. THE US WANTS PEACE, SINCE CONTINUED TROUBLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST COULD LEAD TO GLOBAL CONFLICT.

7. SADAT RESPONDED THAT EGYPT IS STILL WAITING. AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, HE WISHED TO PUT THE FACTS BEFORE THE SENATOR. AFTER JULY 8, 1972 THERE WERE NEVER ANY SOVIET MILIARY IN EGYPT EXCEPT TRAINERS ON NEW ARMS. THE LATTER LEFT AFTER TRAINING WAS FINISHED. HE ALSO GIVE THE SOVIETE "FACILITIES" IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND HAD WRITTEN TO FMRRER PRESIDENT NIXON ABOUT THIMS. THE SOVIETS HAD STOOD BY EGYPT IN 1967 IN CONTRAST TO FORMER PRESIDENT JOHNSON. "FACILITIES" MEANT THEY COULD USE EGYPTIAN PORTS 48 HOURS AFTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO DO SO. HOWEVER, THERE HAD NEVER BEEN ANY SOVIET INSTALLATIONS IN EGYPT. THE SOVIETS WERE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN FRESH WATER AND THEIR PERSONNEL MIGHT COME ASHORE FOR LIBERTY. THERE WER NEVER ANY SOVIETS IN EGYPTIAN FIGHTING UNITS. SIXTY SOVIET PILOTS WERE SENT OUT ON JULY 17, 1972. AS OF TWO MONTHS AGO, THEIR "FACILITIES" IN SALLUM, MERSA MATRUH AND PORT SAID WERE STOPPED. ONLY ALEXANDRIA REMAINS WHERE THE SOVIETS HAVE A SHIP REPAIR "WORKSHIP" ON A VESSEL. HE HAD TAKEN THESE RESTRICTIVE MEASURES AFTER THE SOVIET ARMS DEAL WITH LIBYA. HHIS FUTURE DECISION WITH RESPDCT TO THE SOVIETS WILL DEPEND ON THEIR CONDUCT. HE THOUGHT EGYPT IS HEADING TOWARD BAD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. THE SOVIETS HAD NOT SENT ANY NEW ARMS FOR 16 MONTHS. IN JANUARY, AFTER A DELAY OF 14 MONTHS, THEY FINALLY SENT SOME ARMS ORDERED UNDER FEBRUARY-MARCH 1973 CONTRACTS. EVEN THESE WERE STOPPED IN FEBRUARY. THE PRESIDENT WISHED TO REASSURE THAT HE IS INDEPENDENT. HE RECALLED US NAVY CLEARANCE OF THE SUEZ CANAL, WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 CAIRO 08262 01 OF 02 191532Z

WITHOUT ANY WRITTEN DOCUMENT. THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR A NAVAL BASE AT MERSA MATRUH BEFORE 1972, BUT HE HAD REFUSED. SINCE THE OCTOBER '73 CEASEFIRE AND THE FIRST KISSINGER VISIT, THE SOVIETS STOPPED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID FOR 14 MONTHS. MEANWHILE, THEY PROVIDED SYRIA WITH LARGE QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS AND THE US DID THE SAME FOR ISRAEL. HE HAD RECEIVED NO REPLACEMENTS FOR LOST ARMS.

8. THE SENATOR OBSERVED THAT CHAIRMAN STENNIS WANTED THE FACTS SO THE COMMITTEE COULD REEVALUATE AID TO ISRAEL. DESPITE LOBBIES, HE ASSURED THE PRESIDENT THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE CONGRESS WANT TO DO THE RIGHT THING.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAIRO 08262 02 OF 02 191548Z

43

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 EUR-08 /032 W

----- 117137

R 191416Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5967

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 8262

9. THE PRESIDENT OBSERVED THAT HE HAD FAITHFULLY FULFILLED THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT. AS A RESULT, THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO REPLACE LOST ARMS. THEY WILL NOT EVEN USE THE TERM "REPLACEMENT", CONTENDING THE EGYPTIANS REFUSED TO HEED THEIR ADVICE. HE HAD TAKEN A DECISION IN 1974 TO DIVERSIFY ARMS SOURCES AND HAS NOW BOUGHT SOME FROM FRANCE AND THE UK.

10. IN ANSWER TO THE SENATOR'S QUERY WHETHER HE HAD ASKED FOR US ARMS, SADAT SAID HE WAS COMING TO THAT. AS BACKGROUND HE EXPLAINED, THAT THE KEY TO WAR AND PEACE LIE IN EGYPT. ONE-THIRD OF ALL ARABS, I.E., 38 MILLION, LIVE HERE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE SENATOR INQUIRE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER ABOUT DEVELOPING US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, EGYPT HAD UNDERTAKEN TO LIFT THE OIL EMBARGO. HE WAS THE PRINCIPAL ARAB LEADER BECAUSE OF THE POSITION OF EGYPT. HE AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD WORKED TOGETHER FOR THE FUTURE ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS. THIS THE ISRAELIS HAD UNDERMINED IN MARCH. HE THEN ASKED, "IS IT NOT TIME THAT I ASK YOU TO SELL ME SOME DEFENSIVE WEAPONS? IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S INQUIRY RE WHAT KIND, SADAT STATED "EVERYTHING THAT COMES UNDER THIS TITLE". THE SENATOR ASKED WHETHER ON A CASH OR LOAN BASIS. SADAT RESPONDED ON A CASH BASIS. IF THE US COULD HELP WITH A LOAN, THIS WAS FINE, BUT HE WAS ASKING FOR CASH PURCHASES. HE RECALLED HE HAD MET WITH ADMIRAL TURNER, WHOSE FLAGSHIP

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 08262 02 OF 02 191548Z

HAD BEEN IN THE SUEZ CANAL INAUGURAL CONVOY, AND HAD DISCUSSED COMMON STRATEGY WITH HIM. EGYPT, THE PRESIDENT STRESSED, IS DOING ITS BEST. IT IS ASKING FOR USG FRIENDSHIP. HE HAD LIKED PRESIDENT FORD AND HAD AGREED WITH THE LATTER ON SEVERAL POINTS. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO DEFUSE THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THE AREA. THE RADICALS ARE ATTACKING HIM. SOMEONE SHOULD TELL THE PENTAGON THAT EGYPT IS AN INDEPENDENT AND FRIENDLY COUNTRY.

11. AT THE SENATOR'S INVITATION MR. CONNEELY INQUIRED WHAT ENDS THE PRESIDENT WAS WILLING TO GO TO TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL IF IT GOES BACK ON THE '67 BORDERS. SADAT REITERATED FOR 20 YEARS THE ARABS USED TO SAY NO TO ANYTHING HAVING TO DO WITH ISRAEL. IN FEBRUARY '71, HE HD PUBLICLY STATED THAT HE IS READY TO SIGN A PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL. AFTER 27 YEARS OF BITTERNESS, WAR AND HATRED ONE COULD NOT HOPE TO REACH PEACE IN 2 OR 3 MONTHS OR EVEN A YEAR. HE DESCRIBED HIS VISION AS OFFICIALLY ENDING THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR 27 YEARS AND TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTIES HONOR RESOLUTION 242. IN REPLY TO THE SENATOR'S QUERY WHETHER THIS MEANS ISRAEL MUST RETURN TO THE '67 BORDERS, SADAT SAID YES. HE AGREED WITH THE SENATOR'S VIEW, HOEVER, THAT SOME SECURITY BELT, SUCH AS UNEF, WOULD BE NEEDED. HE WAS NOT ASKING THAT THE US DROP ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL. WE COULD CONTINUE TO GIVE EVERY ISRAELI A TANK OR MACHINE GUN BUT SHOULD SAY THEY SHOULD NOT TAKE OTHERS' LANDS. ALL GUARANTEES COULD ALSO BE GIVEN ISRAEL, BUT HE TOO WANTED SOME GUARANTEES.

12. THE SENATOR OBSERVED THAT ONE SOURCE ON A RECENT TRIP HAD STATED THE US IS "OVERGIVING" TO ISRAEL AND THAT THE LATTER IS A SPOILED CHILD. SADAT AGREED. HE RECALLED WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN MARCH AND REITERATED HE HAD GONE BEYOND THE LIMITS. THE ISRAELIS HAD LET US DOWN.

13. MR. CONNEELY INQUIRED WHY EGYPT SHOULD NOT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAIRO 08262 02 OF 02 191548Z

NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH ISRAEL. AFTER ASCERTAINING CONNEELY'S HOME STATE IS VIRGINIA, SADAT RESPONDED

THAT IF SOMEONE CAME AND TOOK PART OF VIRGINIA, WOULD HIS INTERLOCUTOR TALK WITH THE AGGRESSOR. SITTING WITH THE ISRAELIS NOW WOULD GIVE THE ISRAELIS A VETO. HE COULD NOT SIT WITH PERSONS WHO ARE OCCUPYING HIS LANDS. HE REMAINED READY TO SIT WITH THEM AT GENEVA. CONNEELY INQUIRED IF THIS MEANT THAT ISRAEL MUST RETURN TO THE '67 BORDERS BEFORE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. SADAT RESPONDED IN THE NEGATIVE, SAYING THIS COULD BE HANDLED IN GENEVA. RECALLING THE KILOMETER 101 TALKS, HE OBSERVED THAT IF SECOND DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT MATERIALIZES AN EGYPTIAN GENERAL WILL BE TALKING TO AN ISRAELI GENERAL ABOUT IT. POLITICALLY, SADAT ASSERTED, EGYPT WANTS TO REACH PEACE. THIS MUST INCLUDE SYRIA, THE PALESTINIANS, JORDAN AND EVEN LEBANON SO THAT ALL CAN END BELLIGERENCY.

14. CONNEELY INQUIRED IF THE PRESIDENT ENVISAGED A FINAL PEACE AT GENEVA OR PIECEMEAL. SADAT SAID THAT HE AGREED TO THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. AFTER THAT GENEVA COULD TAKE PLACE. HE OBSERVED THAT NEXT YEAR IS A US ELECTION WHICH WILL DELAY THE PROCESS, BUT STATED HE AGREES TO WHATEVER CAN KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING. THEREAFTER THE PARTIES COULD GO TO GENEVA.

15. THE SENATOR RECALLED THE PLO HAS BEEN NAMED THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIANS. HE HAD HEARD OF PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN LEBANON AND INQUIRED IF THESE ELEMENTS ARE SEPARATE FROM THE PLO. SADAT RESPONDED THEY ARE A PART. THE PLO HAS VARIOUS GROUPINGS. IT INCLUDES RADICALS, BUT ALSO MODERATE ELEMENTS SUCH AS AL-FATAH WITH ARAFAT AS ITS LEADER. THE SENATOR ASKED IF THE BULK OF THE PLO ARE NOT TERRORISTS AND NOTED HIS DISLIKE FOR TERRORISTS. SADAT AGREED. HE STATED THAT THE MAJORITY OF PALESTINIANS ARE NOT TERRORISTS, BUT THOUGHT THE TERM TERRORISTS SHOULD NOT BE USED. AFTER ALL, MENAHIM BEGIN HAD BEEN A TERRORIST. THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE SOLVED FROM ITS ROOTS. THE MAJORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 CAIRO 08262 02 OF 02 191548Z

OF THE PALESTINIANS ARE MODERATE AS IS ARAFAT. IN ANSWER TO THE SENATOR'S QUERY HOW MANY PALESTINIANS MIGHT GO BACK UNDER FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, SADAT GAVE HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT IF A PALESTINIAN STATE WERE CREATED ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, ABOUT 200,000 TO 300,000 MIGHT GO BACK.

16. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE SENATOR MIGHT LIKE TO HEAR ABOUT THE FOXBATS. THE PRESIDENT

RECALLED THE SOVIETS HAD FIRST ASKED TO STATION FOUR
FOXBATS IN EGYPT IN 1971. HE HAD AGREED. THESE
AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN USED NOT TO ASSIST EGYPT, BUT TO
CARRY ON SURVEILLANCE ACTIVITIES OF THE SIXTH FLEET.
THE AIRCRAFT HAD ALSO BEEN WITHDRAWN IN 1972. IN
OCTOBER 73, HOWEVER, HE HAD AGREED THAT THE SOVIETS
MIGHT BRING THEM BACK IN. THEY HAD NOT RPT NOT
BEEN WORKING FOR THE EGYPTIANS. AT PRESENT, THE
PRESIDENT STATED, HE HAS ORDERED THEM GROUNDED.

17. NOTE: SENATOR SCOTT HAD DEPARTED BEFORE
THIS REPORT WAS COMPLETED. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION
IF DEPT WISHES TO MAKE A COPY AVAILABLE TO HIM.
EILTS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CODELS, POLITICAL SITUATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975CAIRO08262
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750286-0515
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750837/aaaabfwm.tel
Line Count: 345
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <07 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL SCOTT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT
TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, IS, XF, (SADAT, ANWAR), (SCOTT, WILLIAM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006